IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

FOR THE FOURTH CIRCUIT

No. 06-4494

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Plaintiff-Appellee,

v.

ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI,

Defendant-Appellant.

Transcript of the CIPA proceedings when held on January 26, 2009, before the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in Richmond, Virginia.

#### APPEARANCES:

PRESIDING JUDGES:

THE HON. KAREN J. WILLIAMS,

Chief Judge

THE HON. ROGER L. GREGORY

THE HON. WILLIAM B. TRAXLER, JR.

FOR PLAINTIFF-APPELLEE:

KEVIN R. GINGRAS, ESQ.

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#### PROCEEDINGS

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Well, welcome to a new venue. Thank you.

Mr. Antonipillai, are you going to start with us first?

Oh, yeah, maybe we should make sure that everyone is cleared and there's no question about that.

THE COURT SECURITY OFFICER: They are, Your Honor.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Okay. Thank you.

You may proceed.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Good morning, and may it please the Court, Justin Antonipillai again on behalf of -- Arnold & Porter, on behalf of Zacarias Moussaoui. During the closed session, I was -- I had planned to just address a couple of points, and I'll take again any questions the panel has first.

I was first going to address the motion to remand that we had filed and some of the arguments in there under the supposition that it hasn't — the reviewed motion has not yet been ruled upon. I had a couple of points that I had discussed in the open session but that have cites in the, in the CIPA record, so I was going to provide those and discuss those briefly, and then I was going to cover some of the other CIPA materials that the district court had deemed to be *Brady* and are in the classified record but hadn't been produced at the time of the plea.

First on the motion to remand, we have requested very limited relief on the motion to remand given the disclosures that

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have been provided by the government. The government has basically disclosed that there — that notwithstanding the district court's specific questions to counsel for the government at the time before the plea and after the plea about whether the detainee interrogations were being taped and notwithstanding the fact that the representations — obviously not, as I understand it — and counsel, we have no reason to believe counsel knew any of this, but as I understand it, made an incorrect representation to the court at least twice with respect to the taping of the interrogations.

All we have requested is a remand to the district court so that the district court may just examine what happened, and what happened, I'm not saying do a broad investigation, but determine how it is that a specific request like one made by the district court about the taping turned out to be so wrong when the answer was given, what the scope is of the taping that occurred, and whether any of the tapes that exist now or existed in the past could have, in fact, affected the plea that Moussaoui entered or the sentence that he received.

That's very limited relief. The Court in other cases that we've cited has done exactly that.

The issue, as I understand it as the government states it is that there's no reason to go through that particular process because it could not have possibly affected Moussaoui's plea or the --

# 5 TopSecret/Codeword 1 JUDGE TRAXLER: I hate to interrupt you --2 MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Sure. 3 JUDGE TRAXLER: -- but I want -- you're at a point I 4 want to pursue a little bit. 5 MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Sure. 6 JUDGE TRAXLER: What is the end game in this? In other 7 words, what relief is it if things turn out as well for you as 8 they possibly could, what relief then will you seek? Are you 9 asking to vacate the plea? Are you asking for resentencing? What is -- where are we headed with this? 10 11 MR. ANTONIPILLAI: If they turned out as, you know, I hate to say best for us, because that in some ways is bad just for 12 13 the system, but if they turned out really, really to show 14 egregious misconduct in terms of lies to the district court that 15 were intentional or it turns out there are a lot of other tapes that are either in existence now or were in existence or they're 16 17 available on demand, now, the district court may conclude, for 18 example, 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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I'm not requesting -- if all that occurs and it's really egregious, it would be a basis to declare the plea involuntary or unknowing, because Moussaoui's plea, he, he made very clear that he found the entire substitution process highly offensive, because he thought that there were witnesses out there that could exculpate him from participating in the 9/11 conspiracy.

And obviously, I'm not asking for a review of that issue, because the panel has already ruled on it, but it was clear that the reliability of the substitutes and their, their use at trial was a critical issue to Moussaoui at the time of the plea, and so if it turns out to be really egregious, No. 1, if it's intentional or reckless conduct that resulted in the misstatement, that's a due process violation, and that could affect the plea, and second, depending on what it is that's, in fact, out there that may have demonstrated that the, that the statements by the witnesses were or were not reliable, that would affect — would have affected Moussaoui's decision to plead guilty. That's the, that's the argument.

JUDGE TRAXLER: All right. Where an issue like this arises after sentencing, what is the standard of review or what is the standard on which your request would be measured?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I believe we would have to prove that, that there is a -- well, it would have to affect the plea in some way. It would either have to affect --

JUDGE TRAXLER: No, it's more than that. I would --

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MR. ANTONIPILLAI: No, no, no, I meant -- I apologize. That wasn't the end of my sentence. You would have to prove that but for this evidence, that he would have not entered a plea of guilty, in other words, that a reasonable person getting this information under the circumstances where he was may have resulted -- I think the language, and I'm forgetting it precisely, is --

JUDGE TRAXLER: I believe the standard is whether or not there's been a miscarriage of justice.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: That's for the due process violation, I think, Judge Traxler. I mean, in other words, I think there are cases saying that if there, if there was a -- if the conduct was intentional or reckless, that could, in fact, be a due process violation, and then you look at the, whether or not it was a miscarriage of justice.

For the, for the purposes of a post-plea, post-plea disclosure essentially that your statement was wrong, if it turns out that there's *Brady* in there, you would go through the normal *Brady* analysis that we talked about in the first session, which is if the defendant had that *Brady* at the time of the plea, is there a probability from an objective standpoint that he would have changed his mind.

Again, I understand the Court's reluctance on this issue, and I've seen it, obviously, from the prior denial of our motion to remand, but there was an awful lot that has been

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1 disclosed about how, No. 1, how is it that that, especially the

That's -- I think the judge -- I think a district judge ought to be able to trust the representation of the government under the two circumstances in which the question was asked. The first one was --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: How about circuit judges when they ask that same question, too?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Yeah. And, Judge Williams, that's exactly right.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Yeah. Two times I asked.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: This Court's decision, twice, both yourself and Judge Wilkins asked one as well, asked the question specifically, "Is there raw material out there against which we can compare the intelligence summaries?"

Because remember, we didn't get -- the defense didn't

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get the raw cables. We only got the intelligence summaries, and I believe the Court got the cables and the intelligence summaries, but there were very specific questions, and there's a Fourth Circuit published opinion out there that says these interrogations were taken under conditions that are likely to render the statements reliable.

That is a -- first of all, that's the law of the case, and that's being thrown back at us every single time, and yet -- and second, that's a precedent that's going to be cited regularly by the government especially in these kinds of cases, and yet there's a possibility -- I'm not saying it's out there; we just don't know -- but there's a good possibility that there's evidence out there that proves that that holding of the Fourth Circuit was wrong, and all we're asking for -- I'm sorry.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: As you say, it seems like it's a lot of these concerns are speculation, and the government's investigation remains ongoing, so isn't this a claim that would be better brought as a 2255 motion in the future, when you have some more information?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I don't believe so, Judge Williams,
21 for a couple of reasons.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Because a lot of stuff has been declassified from the first time that I saw this.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I agree, Judge Williams. I don't believe this has to wait until a 2255, because this is -- we've

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cited the cases Al-Timimi and others in which this very thing has happened and the Court just remands to go back to see what's going on.

We have, obviously, almost explicitly apologized in our briefs for speculating, but we can't do anything but speculate, because we don't know the facts, and the letters that were written by the government disclosing this, this is defensible, I know, I mean, but they're very artfully drafted. They're drafted very specifically. They're disclosing very specific information. So we're guessing as to what else might be out there, but we just don't know.

And the bottom line is the district court got an incorrect declaration twice. It was a very specific question. The second one asked for an all agencies verification of this information, so that was pretty specific, and they got incorrect information.

The district judge under those circumstances should be permitted to determine whether or not there's -- what happened and how it could be that that got the wrong information and how it affected the plea and how it affected the judge's other published rulings, and the same would go, once there's findings, the Fourth Circuit can then look at that and determine whether or not it affected the Fourth Circuit's published opinion, which is, as I said, law of the case and a published precedent which is going to be cited for all time.

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              So this is clearly not a moot issue.
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              JUDGE TRAXLER: How could it have affected the plea?
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   How could it have affected the plea?
              MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Let's say, for example -- and this is
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   all speculation, so I'm speculating, but I have no other basis to
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   do it.
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              JUDGE TRAXLER: All right.
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              MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Let's say there are tapes out there
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   that are inconsistent with the statements we had received.
   other words, for example,
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              JUDGE TRAXLER: Now, you're in the penalty phase now.
   I'm talking about the guilty plea.
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              MR. ANTONIPILLAI: This is relevant to the guilty plea.
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                           substitutions were produced pre-plea and,
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   in fact, were shown to Moussaoui.
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              JUDGE TRAXLER: Right.
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              MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Okay? So let's say his substitution
    says: I thought Moussaoui was part of 9/11 -- I'm paraphrasing, I
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21
   apologize -- but part of 9/11 because the only thing I was working
   on was 9/11.
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              Now, let's say that there's a tape
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    the tape says, "I never thought he was part of 9/11. I thought he
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    was completely cut out of 9/11, and I never believed" -- let's say
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there's an inconsistency between what the tape says and what the substitution says. Then we'd go through the normal *Brady*analysis.

The problem is we just don't know what's on the tapes, how many tapes are out there. We take the disclosures at their word. We are not questioning what the government's lawyers have said. We just --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Well, aren't most of those prefaced by saying, "We don't know if this is going to be true or not; it's just what somebody is saying"?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I, I agree -- you mean that what the, what the letters from the government are saying?

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Well, and -- yes.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Oh, even the substitutions?

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Yes.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: The substitutions, as I understand it, were written in a way to -- this is what the representations are on the record -- were basically indicated to have captured basically what's in the cables. My whole, my whole point here is now you have, it turns out, a whole other batch of raw data that, No. 1, may prove or disprove that the statements and the summaries that the defense got were accurate, and No. 2, it may prove or disprove whether or not the summaries are, in fact, reliable.

And that information may or may not be out there, I'm speculating, but the disclosures we've gotten give some indication

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that there could be a whole bunch of other tapes, and to have a district court judge -- to have Judge Brinkema's rulings out there, the Fourth Circuit's rulings out there, when there could be evidence out there that comes out from once the investigation is done and so forth or once -- that undermines both of those points, I think, undermines the integrity of the process, and it clearly could be relevant to Moussaoui's plea.

The reason we're just not demanding a vacatur of the plea, we don't have enough information about what is this evidence, so I can't come up here and argue yet that it's *Brady* or not *Brady*. I haven't even -- defense counsel have not even seen the transcripts of the tapes that were given, but our point is there may be more tapes, and that's the reason a remand is necessary under the circumstances.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Just as a practical matter, how would you determine if there are more tapes?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I think the district judge has done a lot of ex parte process. And again, I'm sensitive to the notion that this is not going to be some wild goose chase. There's a very — there were specific representations made to the district court, and now there's been disclosures about tapes. There's an ongoing DOJ investigation.

I'm sure there are ways that either ex parte or with counsel participating there could be some specific questions to understand how it is that filed those declarations that

were clearly incorrect and that they should have known were incorrect, and two, the judge should be able to ask questions like, okay, look, you said that this one was taped and that you could get the tapes at any time. Were there other tapes that you can call at any time, or why was this one taped and not this one?

At least the judge should be able to ask the question. If they can't be answered, then they can't be answered, but at least the judge who got the incorrect declaration should know, be able to find out what happened.

The same argument, by the way, applies to the Carla Martin issue. Carla Martin is just a very simple issue, because the finding of death eligibility would have never occurred, the government agreed with this, had there been no substitution of Cammaroto, and now post -- and the judge, as we've made absolutely clear, was very upset, very upset about this issue and made absolutely -- she initially struck all of the aviation evidence.

Then the government proposed Cammaroto as a witness who was supposed to be completely untainted. This isn't a prejudice issue. This is an untainted witness as a result, somebody who was not affected by the violation of the rule on witnesses, and now post-plea, there are some e-mails, they look innocuous but there are some, some e-mails that actually indicate that he was not totally untainted, and the district judge should be able to look at that and figure out, No. 1, why is it that I've got sworn testimony saying that he had had no contact after this point and

yet now there's e-mails indicating that there was, and second, was
my order letting you have this witness come in and testify, which
was the only way you could have even proven death eligibility, is
that an appropriate -- was that an appropriate remedy? Because
without the aviation evidence, there would have been no finding of
death eligibility.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Is a remand the only way she can address these issues?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I believe so. I mean, I suppose -- I think in order to get it back to the district court in a fair way, you know, on a 2255, there's a lot of procedural differences between a 2255 and a remand, and that's why, I think, courts have tended to remand -- this Court has tended to remand the cases under these circumstances, to let the court -- the district court develop the record and get it up on direct appeal so that this Court has a proper record.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Well, wouldn't she, for example, have the same authority if she brought a contempt action, initiated a contempt action or something of that nature?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Possibly, Your Honor. Again, I don't know the answer to that off the top of my head.

JUDGE TRAXLER: I don't, either.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I know there's so many --

JUDGE TRAXLER: That's how come I asked you.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I apologize.

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JUDGE WILLIAMS: Well, can Moussaoui make a showing that had he known about these tapes, that he would not have pled quilty?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I can't make that showing right now, Judge Williams, because I don't know what, I don't know what the tapes -- I don't know -- here's what I don't --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: There's nothing in the record to support it?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Right now, Your Honor, I don't -- I have not had access to the transcripts of the tapes that have been produced. I don't know how many tapes are out there. I don't know what tapes they have -- that are out there to which the government has access to. I just don't have enough information to say right now that we meet the standard to show that a *Brady* violation occurred and that a *Brady* violation would have affected the plea right now.

It could change, obviously, if there was an intentional conduct or something like that, but right now on the current record, we need more facts. That's been our request and what we've been saying.

I had two -- should I -- I'll steal my time and then come back at the rebuttal unless the Court has any questions. Thank you.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Mr. Gingras?

MR. GINGRAS: Good morning again. May it please the

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Court. I apologize for -- first of all, we are not happy about the situation, obviously, as it's unfolded. We take our duty of candor very seriously, but this Court should not mistake us -- mistake our attempts to correct the record and meet that duty for a suggestion that there's anything relevant to this case, that is, the defendant, Mr. Moussaoui.

The focus has to be on what did Moussaoui know; that is, did he know the charges against him, did he know the consequences of pleading guilty, and did he choose to do it. It's not -- the focus can't be on who in the government knew what when.

Clearly, this is not the situation that we would want to unfold, but the question has to be do any of these disclosures cast into doubt that Moussaoui understood those charges, knew the consequences, and that he voluntarily chose to plead guilty.

Now, the facts if you look at the record, they point to nothing under -- nothing in the papers -- and I'm glad to hear Mr. Antonipillai state it here -- that they're really just asserting that something could have affected the plea because he had no chance to challenge the reliability of the substitutions.

There's nothing in the record to support, not even a whisper, that he cared about the substitutions, and, in fact, the opposite --

JUDGE GREGORY: It's not a matter of whether he cared or not, counsel. It's a question in terms of what does, what does justice stand for. It's not just the result. It's a process.

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And the question is, you come here with the CIPA 4 process and twice you came in here and then we poured over this and gave an opinion. It is important as to what is a reasonable substitute, because we want to honor and protect our country's safety, obviously, make sure classified information does not go into the wrong hands, but we also want to honor our Constitution and what is a fair trial under the Fifth Amendment and Sixth Amendment.

That process means more than just a result of whether or not, well, he can't show what he needed. No, it is very important because it undermines the whole idea of what is there that might assist, that the Court could look at and say is this a fair substitution. It's gatekeeping.

Well, they make this representation, but is there anything I could look at in my closed chambers and say that is a fair substitute? How can you do that if someone has undermined the process?

And no disparagement on counsel, but that's important to rely on our government to do that, and to say that, well, the whole issue here and whether or not it made a difference to him, it makes a difference to justice, and I want you to address that difference.

MR. GINGRAS: I completely agree with that sentiment, Judge Gregory.

JUDGE GREGORY: All right. Address that then.

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MR. GINGRAS: It is important that we understand what happened here, and there is a specific process that has been -- a serious criminal investigation that has been underway for over a year to get the bottom of that.

JUDGE GREGORY: Well, I don't want to talk about punishment. That's another -- that's not for us, but what is for us is I want you to address it in the context of the CIPA process that we ruled on, and that context of the district court's obligation, how does that now put us then in terms of verifying whether that was undermined or not?

MR. GINGRAS: That would go -- that was going to be my second point, Judge Gregory, and that is that the district court rejected the substitutions because there were no tapes. There is a, there is a representation made to the district court in a sworn declaration that there are no tapes, and the district court says because there are no tapes, the substitution -- the substitutions are unreliable, and they are not enough to protect Moussaoui's compulsory process rights.

This Court had that rationale squarely in front of it and determined that whether there were recordings or not was irrelevant because the, the people conducting the interrogations had a profound interest in obtaining accurate information from the witnesses and in reporting it accurately to those who could use it to stop further acts of terrorism and capture al Qaeda operatives.

And so the government made representations -- and this

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is still, this is still unassailable rationale from our perspective — that the government was making life-or-death decisions allocating military and intelligence resources based on this information, and this Court said that those considerations provide sufficient indicia of reliability to alleviate the concerns of the district court, the concerns being about taping.

So with respect, Your Honor, again, we are not happy that there were misrepresentations made, but ultimately, for the holding of this Court, the question of whether there were tapes or not became completely irrelevant based on this rationale.

JUDGE GREGORY: What about -- okay. I follow that. What about -- that resolved, let's say, the half that, in terms of not the liability for prosecutorial purposes. What about in terms of the tapes might have content as to an exculpatory aspect of it?

MR. GINGRAS: Well, I think, Judge Gregory, that this Court had that same question in front of it when Solicitor General Paul Clement was up here last time and there was a discussion about cutting room floor material, and the Court reached -- and I'm sorry, I can't point to the footnote -- the conclusion that it was highly unlikely that that would occur, because after 9/11, the witnesses' statements were presumed to be, to be significant and presumptively disseminable.

And anything about Moussaoui was going to have foreign intelligence value; that is, he was an al Qaeda operative, and so anything about him, possible targets, missions, associates, is he

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not involved? Can we eliminate him from the equation, save resources, focus on who the real terrorists are, that that was enough of an indicia to conclude safely that there was such an insignificant chance that there would actually be lost material.

And the -- what we've recovered and disclosed to this Court bears that out. There's nothing -- there's no -- there's nothing that was exculpatory that wasn't produced to the defense, and there's nothing that wasn't already sort of produced in the -- excuse me, not sort of -- produced in the Section 4 process.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Well, you know, earlier the representation was made to the Court that there are no tapes.

Now, of course, we all know that there are some tapes. Now the representation is being made that's all there are, and --

MR. GINGRAS: No, Your Honor, I don't --

JUDGE TRAXLER: Oh, you think there are more?

MR. GINGRAS: I wouldn't want to stand up here and say that that's all there are. I mean, the --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: There are ones in other places, aren't they?

MR. GINGRAS: The -- we have been -- and I, I can represent to this Court that I checked just two days ago with Mr. Durham's investigation. They are keenly aware of our duty of candor to this Court, and anything that bears on this case they are bringing to our attention, and so what we have is what we have, but --

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JUDGE TRAXLER: But you're still asking us to accept your representation that you have provided the Court everything that exists.

MR. GINGRAS: No, Your Honor, I don't want to be mistaken for saying that we've provided everything that exists.

My point is simply that we've provided what has been recovered and what has been in U.S. government possession, but ultimately, it doesn't matter whether there's a thousand tapes out there.

Again, we're not happy about this, but we can presume the worst for the purposes of this motion, that is, that there are, say, a bunch of tapes somewhere, but given the fact that, again, Moussaoui was who he was, anything about him was going to have foreign intelligence value, that the likelihood that there was going to be information that's just completely lost or completely exonerating him is completely unlikely.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Well, if you presumed the worst, then the worst is that there's conduct by the government that is so egregious as to negate the entire prosecution.

MR. GINGRAS: No, Your Honor, I don't --

JUDGE TRAXLER: Now, I'm not saying that's what happens, but if you want to presume the worst, that's the worst.

MR. GINGRAS: And for the moment, Judge Traxler, I think that even if you presumed the worst, quite frankly, under the Brady v. United States trilogy of cases, it's not just that there's egregious, impermissible misconduct. It would have to be

conduct that actually -- there's a couple of standards, and I think Ferrara is instructive on this, and we've cited it in our original opposition to the first remand motion, and that is that you have egregiously impermissible conduct, and in that case, you have the government sort of manipulating their star witness, their almost sole piece of evidence against the defendant, and using that manipulated tale, this is according to the Court of Appeals, to actually strong-arm a defendant into a plea bargain where he gets a lesser sentence, and then they actually proffer that to the court at the plea hearing, where the defendant is allowed to remain silent as to the factual basis for the plea, and then the defendant goes on to deny at the PSR, he won't even take an acceptance of responsibility reduction.

JUDGE TRAXLER: I'm familiar with that case.

MR. GINGRAS: Right. Your Honor, so it's that sort of conduct that goes to actually coercing a guilty plea, and this is, this is sort of an entirely different universe. There is no suggestion anywhere nor could there be that any of these disclosures go to what the government's evidence was. There wasn't any bargaining here, and so -- and there's no --

JUDGE TRAXLER: That's just one example. That's just one way that government conduct can be egregious. That's certainly not limiting all the possibilities.

MR. GINGRAS: No, no, that's -- and I agree, Judge Traxler, but we're talking again in a quilty plea context --

JUDGE TRAXLER: Right.

MR. GINGRAS: -- which is completely different.

I think that if you're referring to the sort of Arizona v. Youngblood line of cases, that's a subset of Brady which we will argue and we submit in our briefs is a trial thing, but even if you want to go down this sort of road of Arizona v. Youngblood, you would still have to show a coercive effect at a minimum.

And we know from the record that Moussaoui just -- it wasn't because the process was skewed. He just rejected anything less than a live witness in the courtroom. He says -- and this is not in the joint appendix, unfortunately, but his pro se pleadings, 1010 and 1018, the docket numbers, "I don't want a Rule 15 deposition." He didn't even want the chance to question them on a two-way video, so how could it be that tapes would mean anything to him?

JUDGE TRAXLER: So your position is any egregious conduct would have to have an effect on what happened in court, that conduct cannot be so egregious that prosecution should be negated, whether it influenced or didn't influence a prosecution --

MR. GINGRAS: Your Honor --

JUDGE TRAXLER: -- I mean, the guilty plea.

MR. GINGRAS: I mean, we can all sort of imagine stomach-churning scenarios. I don't -- and that's a very tough question, and thankfully, it's one I don't think that we have to

answer in this context, but I think you would still at a minimum in a guilty plea have to show that somehow, not necessarily in court, but that it affected the plea, and I think that's entirely consistent with the *Brady v. United States* line of cases.

JUDGE GREGORY: It would affect the plea, that is, he would not have pled guilty but for not knowing that.

MR. GINGRAS: That's right. That's one component.

JUDGE GREGORY: Wouldn't that be a big component, that, for example, you find that all of these purported statements made against him were extracted by draconian methods of interrogation, for example, and that's how they'd say, well, we have 15 people lined up, and this is what they've said about you, we don't have the tapes of them, but these are summaries, and it was extracted by some horrible, horrible torture, for example, you say unless, for example, that impacted him directly, that's not important to the plea in terms of voluntariness of it?

MR. GINGRAS: I think you would still have to show some sort of coercive effect, and given the state of the record -- and that would be at a minimum, Your Honor -- and given the state of the record and his repeated rejections, anything short of having in the courtroom sort of belie any suggestion that he cared at all about substitutions.

And I just want to make this one point, if I may:

Taping doesn't become an issue until the district court already

concludes that the witness is material, and so Mr. Moussaoui has

raised this sort of argument about materiality and the whole process being affected in his, in his reply to the most recent remand, so we didn't get a chance to respond to it, but I do want to say a couple words about it.

No one, including the district court or the defense, ever thought that the issue of taping was relevant to a materiality determination. The first time taping comes up, we're on interlocutory appeal, and this Court remands to consider substitutions.

The government proposes a substitution. The defense objects, and they have a lot of complaints about it, and -- but they mention in a footnote -- and this is in the classified joint appendix at 493 -- "Certainly the government has audio and video of the interrogations, so a verbatim record is available."

Well, that prompts the district court to then ask about the taping. She's like -- she says, "Yes, of course they're taping these, right? We should be able to have these to determine whether the substitutions are reliable."

So the parties are operating at that point with an understanding of something approaching this Court's analysis, which was the intelligence reports were reliable. They just disagreed about what they were reliable for; that is, the defense thought, well, they're not -- the Section 4 material we're getting is enough for us to determine whether we should have access to

Zubaydah, but when it comes to the compulsory process

right and protecting Moussaoui's right to a live witness, we've got to have something more reliable.

So what you really have is a sort of it's at the end of the day something that's totally irrelevant to the beginning of the process, that is, the materiality determination.

And so if I could, unless the Court has any other questions, I'd move on to --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: I want to ask one question about the tapes. When we had asked about the tapes and were told that there were none, were they actually there at the time, or did they later find them?

MR. GINGRAS: The -- and I'm sorry, Your Honor, by "they," you're referring to the --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: I think it was the 2005 maybe --

MR. GINGRAS: The -- I'm trying to keep the chronology straight amongst many years. The government -- the prosecution -- the prosecutors in this case didn't learn about taping until 2007. If you're asking about during one of the interlocutory appeals, I think the tapes go back, and I think we've disclosed this, for example,

So again, this is not a situation that we are happy with, obviously, because -- and I do want to say one -- make one remark about

You know, at the time, you're talking about some of the most highly sensitive, compartmented information. This was not something that we just sort of gossiped

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about at the -- sitting around having lunch. We don't doubt the --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: We were all looking at that. We were reading that stuff, but we didn't get the tapes.

MR. GINGRAS: No, and I'm, I'm just going to the issue

of
We think he

probably did say something about them to someone on the prosecution team, but as you know, when you're speaking about these things and speaking in circumlocutions, there was sort of a miscommunication.

But at the end of the day, it's still irrelevant to the question of sort of the process and the reliability determination that this Court made just based on what was at issue based on the fact that the government was making these life-or-death decisions based on this information. That was enough for it.

And so while again, I don't, I don't want to be repeating myself, but we are obviously apologetic and not happy that this has unfolded the way it has, and we do take our duty of candor very seriously, the reason we're not agreeing to a remand like we did in Al-Timimi, for example, is there's -- I believe that we did in Al-Timimi, Your Honor; I may be wrong about that -- but we just simply don't believe that there's anything to be

1 gained given the state of the record either with regard to the reliability or the materiality and that clearly Moussaoui just 2 3 didn't care about this whole process at all. JUDGE TRAXLER: Let me ask you a question. 4 5 MR. GINGRAS: Sure. JUDGE TRAXLER: You're obviously being very careful as б 7 to the representations you make today to the Court --8 MR. GINGRAS: I'm trying to, Your Honor. 9 JUDGE TRAXLER: -- and I understand that, but if, if we 10 didn't remand it and more tapes come to light, what recourse does 11 the defendant have? 12 MR. GINGRAS: I don't think he would have any, Your 13 Honor, and I think that's our point of why the remand is 14 unnecessary. 15 JUDGE TRAXLER: Regardless of what they might, say, 16 reveal? 17 MR. GINGRAS: I think you could imagine the worst --18 he's already gotten -- the substitutions that he's getting -- that 19 he eventually got by the time the penalty phase rolls around, I 20 mean, he can read about again in the 9/11 report and he can discuss with his counsel in the case of the 21 22 substitutions, they were saying he wasn't part of the plot. 23 This Court had that in front of it, that they were 24 providing material, exculpatory information both as to guilt and 25

as to punishment. He's not part of the plot. I can't -- it's

hard for me to imagine what would be more exculpatory than that.

If the question is about reliability, I think that question has already been answered, and I won't, I won't repeat it.

So those are sort of two separate questions. The exculpatory question, it just again is unlikely given who Moussaoui was and the fact that anything about him was likely to have foreign intelligence value.

So we don't want to be unreasonable, obviously, Your Honor, but there's nothing to be gained other than a wholesale exploration of what you would have done if you would have known this, and in order to do that, he would have to completely change his positions or he'd have to completely contradict what he's already said in everything, in the ex parte proceeding, at the guilty plea, you knew you were waiving constitutional rights. All that is relevant, and I go back to that because that is the place to start.

I'm running short on time here, so I'd like to just touch on a couple of other points that Mr. Antonipillai raised. The Carla Martin issue, this Court has already denied remand on those grounds, so I profess I'm not -- I don't completely remember all the ins and outs of the Cammaroto e-mails other than that they, they seemed very innocuous, and so I would just rely on our papers that we had filed the first time.

With regard to defense counsel knew in

February of 2004 already that he had admitted to -- and I see I'm out of time. If I can finish, sum up?

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Go ahead.

MR. GINGRAS: That he was slated to be part of the operation or appeared to be slated to be a part of the operation and he'd said as much, so this is long before Moussaoui pleads quilty.

And so with that, I would just --

JUDGE WILLIAMS: I've got one more question.

MR. GINGRAS: Sure, Your Honor.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Given Judge Brinkema's public statements about the government's conduct in this case, do you think she can continue sitting on this case if we were to remand it?

That's a tough question.

MR. GINGRAS: Your Honor, honestly, I've not thought about that. I can -- I can't make a representation as I stand here. I apologize for that. That would be a, something that several people would have to think through, and I apologize, I'm not able to answer your question.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: It would seem to me that that would be a question. Thank you.

MR. GINGRAS: I do have one last point that I do want to address because I didn't get to say it in the opening portion is this idea that no one believed Moussaoui. Twelve jurors found

beyond a reasonable doubt based on the evidence that the government put forward, his testimony, and made specific findings about his credibility and his competency, and so I would just rely on those findings.

Thank you.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Thank you.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Happily, I assure the panel my time is limited, so I would make just a few points.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: And what would your answer be to that same question that I asked about Judge Brinkema?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: I have the same answer. I have not conferred with my co-counsel on that issue. I had viewed it more as a remand was necessary because the district judge was outraged, had asked specific questions. I don't -- I have not yet thought about whether that would make the judge biased in some way. I haven't seen any indications of it.

I saw the statements as more indicative out of a respect for the district court, to have the district court have a chance to review this, but I have not thought about the disqualification. I apologize.

I thought I would briefly make the -- explain what we were saying about the materiality. So the simple question is if everybody had known about the tapes, when would they have come out? That's really the pertinent question.

What would have happened is when the, when the

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government went to the court and said, "We want -- these intelligence summaries are the ones that we want produced to the defense," that's what occurred, the intelligence summaries were produced to us instead of the cables, the government would have been obliged to produce to the district court not only the cables but the tapes.

That's the whole point of CIPA 4. You're supposed to be comparing what you are producing as a substitute to the raw material that you are not wanting to produce.

So the point we've been making about this is there are a lot of decisions that the district court made in the absence of tapes that should have been produced to the district court under the representations that the district court was making.

The government says, well, look, there was no challenge to the materiality determinations. The reason is because all of the CIPA 4 process that I've just described, where the government produced the cables and then the court approved production of the summaries, that was all ex parte. The defendants never got to participate in that process and, indeed, didn't know what it was that the district court was ruling on.

The district court surely would have wanted to know that it was approving summaries that put the defendant in the same place as the cables. She would have wanted to know that there was actually tapes out there.

Let me be concrete about how this affected Moussaoui

with Zubaydah, for example. The district judge determined that
Abu Zubaydah was not a material witness. At the time she made
that determination, she only had the cables and the substitutions,
the intelligence summaries.

As we've described, the, the chronology about the actual destruction of the Zubaydah tapes, again, I don't have a record on which to say anything intentional of her, but the chronology is troubling. At the time the Zubaydah tapes were destroyed, the defense had filed a motion for reconsideration to get access to Zubaydah. The government had said on the record, "We're going to produce everything that relates to Zubaydah, but we oppose any argument that Zubaydah is material." This was in November of 2005.

Before the court ruled on whether or not the defense could have access to Zubaydah, again, in the middle of -- with a pending motion, according to all of the press reports, that's when the government destroyed all of the tapes of Zubaydah. That's troubling.

I think the district court will want to know how -- that timing is just very weird. There's a pending motion to get access to Zubaydah, and they destroy all of the tapes at a moment when the government has represented to the court that it's going to produce everything relating to Zubaydah. That's why there's probably a criminal case investigating this.

But the -- let me, let me again -- the reason we've

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speculated about some of this is that the disclosures to us in the

2 letters have been hard for us to know what to do with. For 3 example, Mr. Gingras said in the last testimony that the

prosecution did not know about this tapes issue until 2007. Yet

there was a letter that was produced to us that says

I don't even know what to think of that. I mean, normally you would want a judge to make a finding did the prosecution know or not, and I don't want to accuse the prosecutor of having known this based on that disclosure.

The same as for whether there are more tapes.

It may be that that's dispositive, but the district court should be permitted to just figure that out and make a ruling on that issue.

Also, the government says, well, look, nothing in

those -- the transcripts of the tapes was relevant to 9/11, but, of course, that ignores -- may I finish the point, Madam Chief Judge? May I finish the point?

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Yes.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: That ignores that Moussaoui was charged, as the government says over and over, with a broader conspiracy than just 9/11, so somebody should be able to figure out whether there's something on these tapes that relates to, to more than just 9/11.

I had two final points that I was just going to give cites briefly, if the Court would permit me, but I can also submit them by letter. One is there was a statement about Moussaoui not wanting any of the summaries, and we've -- there's a -- it's a fine point.

Moussaoui didn't want to -- want substitutions used at trial; he wanted the actual live witness; but he clearly wanted the intelligence summaries. There's request after request that we cite where Moussaoui says, "Please give me the summaries that the Fourth Circuit said I should have had." Some of them are in the classified joint appendix, and some of them are in the public record, but we've cited a bunch of them.

So it's clear that Moussaoui wanted the summaries, especially because the Fourth Circuit said he's entitled to them, and this was before the plea.

And Moussaoui could really not have known that he was

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going to get them, because both himself and his standby counsel and then appointed counsel repeatedly asked for these summaries, and the district court's order doesn't say you're going to get them. What it says is you're not going to get them until the government -- until and unless the government produces a declassified substitute.

That doesn't give Moussaoui any comfort that at some point he's going to get the declassified summaries. All it says is if the government produces it, you'll get them. Otherwise, you're just going to have to rely on your counsel, and that's not the same thing.

And finally, in both the October 2, 2002, and February 3, 2003 CIPA transcripts, which are in the record, the district court specifically explains why it is that references in public documents like the 9/11 report, newspapers, public versions of the brief, don't really cure the, the discussions with counsel issue that I've raised.

She says at one point -- there's an article in The Post that discusses some classified information, and the judge says, "That erodes any scintilla of confidence that Moussaoui has either in the Court, the judicial process, or his standby counsel." That's because there's stuff being revealed that's classified or arguably classified in the papers, he goes to talk to his lawyers, they can't confirm it, he raises it with the court, they can't confirm it.

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So the notion that Moussaoui's Sixth Amendment right was cured by any disclosure in the 9/11 report or in any other public document is just absolutely wrong, and the district court knew it and, in fact, made a specific finding that the 9/11 report did not put Moussaoui in the same place he would have been had he received the classified information that I have pointed out during argument today.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Are you asking for a remand and a delay in a decision on the merits?

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Yes, Your Honor. On the, on the tapes issue, we had suggested that the Court temporarily remand, as it's done in, say, Al-Timimi and some of the other cases, so that the district court can make the record and then send the record up for this Court to properly rule on.

JUDGE TRAXLER: Okay.

MR. ANTONIPILLAI: Thank you very much.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: Thank you.

Oh, I'm sorry, did you have something?

MR. GINGRAS: No.

JUDGE WILLIAMS: We'll come down and speak to you-all.

21 We'll adjourn court.

(Which were all the proceedings

had at this time.)

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CERTIFICATE OF THE REPORTER

I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript of the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter.

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